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CHANGING PERCEPTIONS OF THE BEDCHAMBER: A STUDY OF FURNITURE AND FURNISHINGS IN PHILADELPHIA COUNTY, 1800-1900

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

During the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, there was no room in the house solely designated for sleeping. It is in the Georgian house that specialization occurs and we begin to see the distinction between common rooms (for dining and entertaining) and private rooms (for sleeping and quiet work) for family members. "The desire for a room of one's own was not simply a matter of personal privacy. It demonstrated the growing awareness of individuality--of a growing personal inner life--and the need to express this individuality in physical ways."[1] By the nineteenth century, the concept of the bedroom as a private space was firmly established. The purpose of this paper is to analyze the furniture and furnishings of the nineteenth-century bedroom, through the study of period records and literature, in order to develop a more accurate picture of the nineteenth-century interior.

Prescriptive versus Descriptive Literature

The literature utilized in this study can be divided into two categories: prescriptive--literature that tells what ought to be, and descriptive--literature that documents what was. Sources of descriptive literature include inventories, diaries, travel accounts, photographs, and

paintings. Diaries and travel accounts were used in this study, but few nineteenth-century pictorial documents exist for the bedchamber. The primary source of descriptive information used in this paper is a collection of 155 estate inventories filed in Philadelphia County between 1800 and 1900. These inventories were not limited to any particular social or economic class, but were limited to urban dwellings.

Philadelphia is important as a case study for two reasons. In the nineteenth century, Philadelphia was a major urban area. In 1800 America had a population of 5,308,483 but only a very small percentage of its inhabitants resided in urban areas.[2] Philadelphia was the largest city with a population of approximately 41,220 (the county of Philadelphia had a population of 39,789) the city and county of New York 60,489; and Boston 24,937.[3] On the eve of the Civil War the United States was still predominantly rural, only one eighth of the population lived in cities of 8,000 or more. In 1900 Philadelphia had a population of 1,293,697 compared to New York with a population of 3,437,202.[4] Philadelphia was also a major publishing center in the nineteenth century, and was a point of transmission of style for the rest of the country. The latest furniture and styles would reach Philadelphia and would quickly be adopted before being disseminated to other areas. Thus the findings in this study would be applicable to any major urban area in the United States.

Prescriptive literature is found in many forms, including pattern books, housekeeping manuals and magazines. Two types of pattern books were available. The first type was the builders guides, which were comprised mostly of plates showing orders and elements of detail, and perhaps a few plans for houses. The second type was house pattern books, which mainly showed plans and designs for houses.[4] Builders guides predominated into the 1830s, but "from the mid 1840s on house pattern books began to appear in greater quantity and soon superseded the Builders Guides almost completely."[6]

A second type of prescriptive literature was household manuals. For the first time during the first two decades of the nineteenth century "...copiously illustrated publications appeared that dealt with the subject [of interior decoration] as a stylistic whole rather than as an assemblage of parts."[7] These publications were significant because they addressed the rapidly growing Middle Class who looked to such books as The Encyclopedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture and Furniture (1833) by John Claudius Loudon, An Encyclopedia of Domestic Economy (1844) by Thomas Webster and Mrs. Parkes, and The Architecture of Country Houses (1850) by Andrew Jackson Downing, for guidance in the areas of household management, interior decoration and house design.[8]

The third type of prescriptive literature was magazines. Magazines, like Godey's Lady's Book, and Peterson's in the early nineteenth century and Ladies' Home Journal and Ladies' Home Companion later in the century, were directed toward a particular audience, women.

The literature used for this study consisted mainly of the first two types. Due to the difficulties of searching magazines for information on the furnishings of the bedchamber, this type of literature was not used extensively. A doctoral dissertation on Godey's Lady's Book was consulted however.[9]

It was during the nineteenth century that women began to exert an influence in the decoration of the home. In the eighteenth century, the gentleman of the house would have collaborated with his architect. By the second half of the nineteenth century it was the woman of the house who collaborated with her decorator on the subject of interior furnishings.[10]

Changes in the way goods were sold encouraged this change in roles. In the eighteenth century and the early decades of the nineteenth century, "goods were sold to the public directly by the men who made them."[11] The consumer was required to visit the site where production occurred in order to purchase these goods. At this time men did the buying, as women were not encouraged to frequent artisans' shops, nor were women permitted to sign contracts. Separation of production and sales during the second quarter

of the nineteenth century encouraged women to become consumers.

> Specialization and the physical segregation of sales personnel occurred at a number of levels from large department stores... to the increasingly numerous and elegant specialized retailers... to manufacturers who more and more frequently built wholesale or retail outlets in locations separate from their factories.[12]

Women could visit the showrooms where furniture was displayed and purchase items for their homes.

Just as the distinction between factory and showroom encouraged women to become consumers, the shift from commercial to an industrial society, and the distinction between workplace and home that ensued, encouraged women's increased responsibility in all aspects of the domestic economy. With industrialization and the growth of the factory, the male worker left his home each morning to work somewhere else and returned home only when the day's work was done. "Life lived away from the home had little in common with domestic life. Instead, work and relaxation became separate; the home grew into a haven secure from outside pressure to which the father returned daily. Within the home the woman's role increased."[13]

Technology changed life within the home in other ways too. "The ability to enclose space more cheaply in terms of labor and materials certainly made possible more specialized rooms for bathing, washing, cooking, eating, sleeping, reading and entertainment."[14] It became cheaper to furnish

the home, and stylish furnishings became available to a larger number of people.

> The quantity and distribution of such materials, if not their design, seems directly dependent on mass manufacture for their lower costs; on speeded transportation for side distribution and on mass communication for advertisement and sale.[15]

Methodology

For this study, 155 nineteenth-century inventories from Philadelphia County were analyzed. Transcriptions of the original inventories were used. These transcriptions were prepared by graduate students at the University of Pennsylvania in conjunction with a course in American domestic interiors, and are in the collection of The Athenaeum of Philadelphia. The level of accuracy in the transcriptions may vary.

A monetary total was given with each transcription, but in some cases this figure included items such as land, stocks and bonds, while in others it included only household goods and furnishings. It was not known if these other items, like stocks and bonds, were omitted in the transcription or if the decedent never possessed any such items. For this study, the value of household goods alone was calculated for each inventory. Items such as silver and plated ware, libraries, china and fuel were excluded from the calculations because not all transcriptions included them. Thus the calculated value comprised only household

furnishings: furniture, textiles, lighting fixtures and decorative accessories (e.g., paintings, figurines, etc.).

Values of household furnishings were calculated for each inventory and the low, median, high, and mean values were calculated for each quarter of the nineteenth century with the following results:

YEARS	NO. OF INVENTORIES	LOW	MEDIAN	HIGH	MEAN
1800-1825	47	$148.50	795.00	4579.33	986.07
1826-1850	42	$190.00	999.29	3399.00	1206.73
1851-1875	56	$167.50	1077.00	6962.45	1752.44
1876-1900	10	$170.35	503.36	3424.75	1055.95

Figure 1

The collection of inventories utilized are not evenly distributed over time. As evidenced in the above table, the collection is concentrated in the first three quarters of the century, while there were only ten inventories in the last quarter.

There is only a $42.00 range between the "low" figures calculated. There is a much greater range in the "high" values, however. The "high" value for the third quarter comes from the inventory of a Barnabas Hammett, a coal merchant, who resided in an eighteen room house on North Broad Street in Philadelphia. The "median" value for the fourth quarter is lower than the other figures, although the "low" and "high" values are consistent with the values of

the other quarters. This indicates that there are more inventories in the fourth quarter with low totals, than there are in the other quarters.

Of the 535 rooms identified as "sleeping rooms", 155 were designated "best, and 155 were designated "least" solely on the value of their furnishings. The best and least bedrooms were the only ones analyzed; the remaining bedrooms were ignored. It was assumed that the best bedroom belonged to the master/mistress of the house, and the least bedroom to a servant or a child, while the rooms in the middle could not be assigned to any particular group. Analyzing the best and least bedrooms allowed for comparison between the extremes in furnishing.

For each bedroom in each inventory a count was kept of every object in the room, with the exception of plate, money, clothing, and jewelry. Note was also made of any descriptive terms or modifiers used. In order to facilitate analysis and discussion, the items on the inventories were placed in the following categories to be discussed in subsequent chapters:

1. heating, ventilating, personal cleanliness, and lighting
2. bedstead and articles associated with it (e.g. mattresses, beds, bedding, bolsters, pillows and bed curtains)

3. other textiles (e.g., window curtains and cornices, shades and blinds, carpets, rugs, matting and floorcloths)
4. furniture, including seating tables, storage items, looking glasses, and miscellaneous accessories (e.g., painting, clocks)

ENDNOTES

1. Witold Rybczynski, Home (New York: Penguin Books, 1987), 110.

2. The World Almanac and Encyclopedia, vol. VIII, no. 88 (New York: The Press Publishing Co., 1908), 386.

3. Second Census of the United States, 1800 (Washington: U.S. Census Office, 1801)

4. The World Almanac, 388.

5. Henry Russell Hitchcock, American Architectural Pattern Books, (New York: De Capo Press, 1976), vii.

6. Hitchcock, vii.

7. Charlotte Gere, Nineteenth-Century Decoration (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1989), 36.

8. Peter Thornton, Authentic Decor, (New York: Viking Press, 1984), 216.

9. Gail Caskey Winkler, Influence of Godey's Lady's Book on the American Woman and Her Home: Contributions to a National Attitude (1830-1877) (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1988).

10. Gere, 52.

11. Stuart M. Blumin, "The Hypothesis of Middle-Class Formation in Nineteenth-Century America: A Critique and Some Proposals" American Historical Review 90 (April 1985), 314.

12. Blumin, 313.

13. Anthony N.B. Garvan, "Effects of Technology of Domestic Life, 1830-1880" in Technology in Western Civilization, edited by Melvin Kranzberg and Carroll W. Pursell, vol.1 (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 552.

14. Garvan, 547.

15. Garvan, 556.

CHAPTER II

SLEEPING ROOMS

BEDROOMS OR BEDCHAMBERS

Differences in nomenclature used for sleeping areas, stem from the functional nature of the space and the time the inventory was taken. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there was little if any distinction between public and private space; rooms had multiple functions. By the beginning of the nineteenth century rooms were taking on specific functions as reflected in inventories with designations such as parlor and dining room, and sleeping rooms were becoming private spaces.[1]

Location of Bedrooms

There seems to be a link between the location and size of a sleeping room and the name given to the room. In The American Builder's Companion (1827), Asher Benjamin presented plans for town houses. In these plans he showed a "basement" story, which contained the kitchen and the cellar; the "principal" or "parlour" story, and the "chamber" floor. In all of Benjamin's plans for townhouses the floor which contained rooms for sleeping were always designated the "chamber" floor.

The architectural pattern books of the time show designs with bedrooms--as opposed to bedchambers--on the first floor. Minard Lafever showed one plan for "a country residence" in The Modern Builder's Guide (1833). This one

story residence had one room for sleeping on the first floor and it was labeled "bedroom". The Builder's Guide (1846), by Chester Hills, displayed plans for residences in the city of New Haven. If a room for sleeping appeared on the principal floor it was termed a "bedroom", while the plans for upper floors, which contained rooms for sleeping were termed "chamber" plans.

In The Architecture of Country Houses (1850) Andrew Jackson Downing shows "designs for cottages" in which a bedroom is placed on the first floor. According to Downing one reason for the placement of the bedroom on the first floor is convenience.

> This may be used as the bed-room of the master and mistress, in which case it must have a large wardrobe closet placed in it, and in which case also, it will always be most convenient and comfortable in winter from its proximity to the kitchen which the mistress of such a cottage as this is supposed not to be able to have too near for her own supervision.[2]

Another reason for the placement of the bedroom is the size of the house. "...living-room, bed-room and kitchen have that immediate connection so desirable to families dwelling in house of moderate size."[3]

The location of the bedroom on the first floor places it within the social realm of the house. Downing describes the first floor bedroom "...there is a snugness and compactness about the living room and bed-room, which shows a little social ambition and conveys the ideas that the

house is designed for a family whose circumstances allow them to entertain."[4]

Downing also takes a totally opposite stance on the desirability of first floor bedrooms by saying "The bed-room and nursery on the first floor...will especially be prized by farmers' wives, who prefer to have their own daily comfort considered, before that of guests whom they may only see on a few great occasions."[5] When Downing places a sleeping room on the first floor it is always designated a bedroom. The second floor plan is referred to as the chamber plan.

By the second half of the nineteenth century, floor level was not the only feature to distinguish "room" from "chamber". In the pattern books of Amos Jackson Bicknell (1872) and William Comstock (1881) they too designate the sleeping rooms on the first floor "bedrooms". They use both "bedroom" and "chamber" on the second floor. The difference between the two terms is one of size. The largest rooms are designated "chambers". George Woodward in his Victorian Housebuilder's Guide (1869) uses the same designation and also uses "bedroom" to denote spaces for servants.

The patterns books of Downing, Bicknell, and Comstock all discuss the architecture of country and suburban houses while the inventories used in this study are of row houses. Henry Hudson Holly's Modern Dwellings (1878) is one of the few pattern books to deal with city architecture. In his plans for town houses there are no first floor bedrooms. He

does, however, use the term chamber to designate the largest sleeping rooms on the upper floors and "bedrooms" to indicate the smaller ones. It is assumed that the best chambers were reserved for the master/mistress of the household. The smaller rooms were most likely occupied by children. Servants were isolated from family members, their rooms were usually in the attic or garret.

An analysis of the inventories suggests that most of the structures involved were row houses. Row houses, because of their economic utilization of space, had a fairly standard layout. William Murtagh, in his article on Philadelphia row houses, identified four types of urban house plans.[6] These plans differed in size and arrangement of specific rooms, but were similar in that public spaces were on the first floor and sleeping rooms were always on upper floors. In the inventories analyzed all of the rooms designated for sleeping were located on upper floors, with one exception.[7]

Nomenclature

For the purpose of this study, any room listed in an inventory that contained items such as a bedstead, bed, bedding, and bureau, but did not contain items that implied utilization as storage, such as coal, wheat, and lumber, was considered a room or space for sleeping. Because all of the inventories used were from urban dwellings, this study deals only with urban practices. In the 155 inventories used for this study, 553 rooms were identified as rooms for sleeping.

The term "room" was used in 350 instances, "chamber" 165 times, "bedroom" 38 times, and "bedchamber" only twice. The term "lodging room" appeared once in reference to a fist floor sleeping space, and "nursery" twice. Other terms that designated sleeping spaces took their cue from their location in the house, namely the attic and the garret. Finally, 84 of the sleeping spaces had no specific designations (i.e., "4th story room").

An analysis of this nomenclature is depicted graphically in figure 2. Only the most frequently occurring terms, "bedroom", "room", and "chamber", were included. In the inventories recorded during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, most of the sleeping spaces were referred to as "room" or "chamber", with "room" appearing twice as often as "chamber". When room and chamber were used in the same inventory to refer to sleeping spaces, "chamber" designated spaces on the second floor and "room" those on the third floor.[8] The term "bedroom" appears for the first time in the inventories of the second quarter of the nineteenth century in the 1820s to be specific, but isn't used with any frequency until the 1880s. The ratio of the usage of "room" and "chamber" is again two to one in the second quarter, but the ratio increases during the third quarter, until the fourth quarter when the use of both terms is surpassed by the use of "bedroom". Figure 3 charts the same data in a somewhat different manner. In this graph, the use of each term, on a percentage basis, is plotted

TERMINOLOGY

Fig. 2

TERMINOLOGY

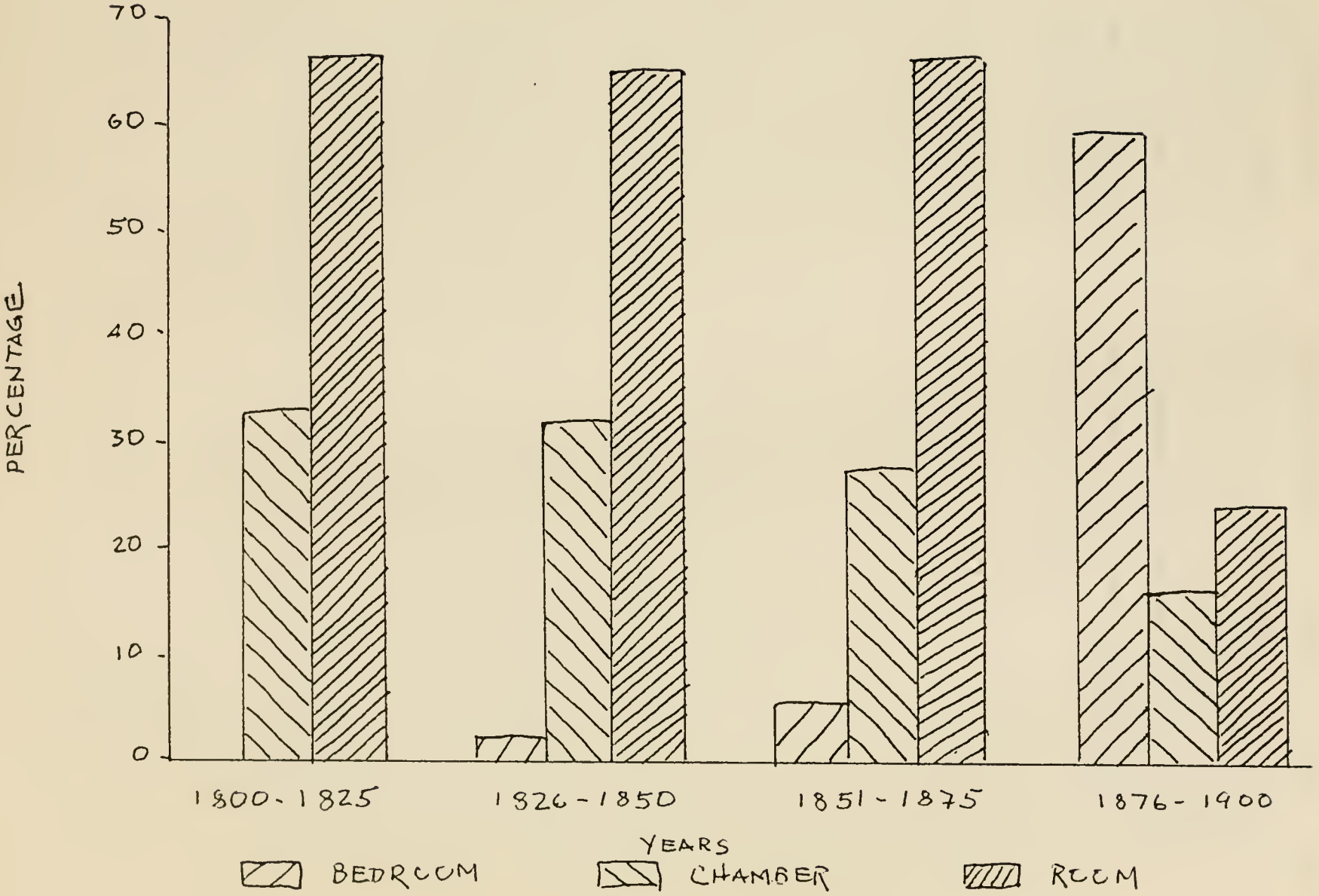

Fig. 3

against time. This compensates for the fact that there were unequal numbers of inventories in each quarter. This graph clearly shows how the use of "bedroom" gradually increases, as the use of the term "chamber" decreases. Use of "room" is fairly consistent over the first three quarters, but drops dramatically in the fourth quarter.

ENDNOTES

1. The separation of house into public and private spaces was occurring in England and on the continent as well, and was reflected by a change in the language. The place where one slept was no longer simply called a "room"--it was now referred to as a "chamber". The public rooms continued to be called salles (hence salle a manger--dining room, and salon), but the bedchamber was a chambre a coucher...The same distinction exists in Italian. See Witold Rybczynski, Home (New York: Penguin Books, 1987), 86.

2. Andrew Jackson Downing The Architecture of Country Houses (1850) (reprint New York: Dover Publications, 1969), 97.

3. Downing (1850), 132.

4. Downing (1850), 115.

5. Downing (1850), 164.

6. William John Murtagh "The Philadelphia Row House" Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 16 (1957).

7. This sleeping room was most likely located on the first floor to accommodate an invalid, or someone who could not climb the stairs.

8. The second edition of The Oxford English Dictionary defines room as "an interior portion of a building divided off by walls or partitions; especially a chamber or apartment in a dwelling house". It was first used in 1457. Chamber is defined as "a room or apartment in a house; usually one appropriated to the use of one person; a private room; in later use especially a sleeping apartment, a bedroom" and its earliest usage was in 1300. "Chamber" was also used to refer to the best room. The definition of "chamber" is slightly different in A Dictionary of American English, where "chamber" is defined as "An upper room in a dwelling house, usually serving as a bedroom". Hence, the designation of "chamber plan" in the architectural pattern books of the nineteenth century. The earliest usage of "chamber" in America was in 1619.

CHAPTER III

TECHNOLOGY AND SLEEPING ROOM FURNISHINGS

Heating and Ventilating

The heating and proper ventilation of the bedroom were topics of great concern during the nineteenth century. In the late eighteenth century, Joseph Priestly demonstrated that, in the lungs, the oxygen from the air "changed blue blood to red", while the air picked up phlogiston; part of the exhalation from the lungs was thus fixed air, now known as carbon dioxide "also known as carbonic acid gas in the early nineteenth century."[1] These facts were "translated into a need to have sufficient oxygen in the air one breathes and to avoid breathing the carbonic acid gas that was exhaled by oneself or by others."[2]

Heating was closely tied to ventilation. In the words of Andrew Jackson Downing, the open fireplace provided the "...most agreeable and healthful mode of warming an apartment..." as well as providing a source of ventilation.[3] He added "...Whoever can afford these means of warming and ventilating an apartment should never be persuaded to introduce a stove, of any kind, into his room."[4]

Although Downing did not like the idea of a bedroom heated by a stove, his designs in The Architecture of Country Houses (1850) did contain flues for stoves "...a mode of warming we regret to see growing so popular in this

country, since we think it consults economy at the cost of both health and cheerfulness."[5]

The pure air movement "rose to a crescendo right after the Civil War, when the Philadelphia lecturer and self-styled "heating and ventilating engineer", Lewis W. Leeds, coined and gave currency to the slogan "Man's own breath is his greatest enemy."[6] In a series of lectures at the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia in 1866, Leeds explained the way air currents behaved with "various arrangements of heating arrangements."[7] According to Leeds, a faulty heating system could surround people with dangerous vitiated air, while the fresh air clung to the ceiling.

Experiments with central heating had been going on at least since the middle of the eighteenth century, and "by 1860 more or less practical systems had been devised - by the fifties all the metropolitan business directories were carrying numerous advertisements for furnaces."[8] Furnaces were expensive to install and required a large amount of fuel in order to heat the more distant rooms. This caused the public to view them as a luxury item, and to perceive them as being inefficient. Improvements in heating "had not displaced the fireplace from its importance, even in the homes of the wealthy; and, even if central heating was used, the chambers were usually heated by fireplace."[9]

The key to a good bedroom, in the minds of the Catharine Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe, was sufficient ventilation. They feared that an air-tight room, where one

was forced to breathe in bad air, "reduced all the processes of the body."[10] They wrote in The American Woman's Home (1869):

> There is a prevailing prejudice against night air as unhealthful to be admitted into sleeping rooms, which is owing wholly to sheer ignorance. In the night every body necessarily breathes night air and no other. When admitted from without into a sleeping room it is colder and therefore heavier, than the air within, so it sinks to the bottom of the room and forces out an equal quantity of the impure air, warmed and vitiated by passing through the lungs of inmates. Thus the question is, Shall we shut up a chamber and breathe night air vitiated with carbonic acid or night air that is pure? The only real difficulty about night air is, that usually it is damper, and therefore colder and more likely to chill. This is easily prevented by sufficient bed-clothing.[11]

The Beechers glorified the old houses with their fireplaces. "Better, far better, the old houses of the olden time, with their great roaring fires, and their bed-rooms where the snow came in and the wintry winds whistled... You woke full of life and vigor."[12]

Even into the 1870s, people still believed that air became "bad" because the quantity of oxygen decreased and the quantity of carbon dioxide increased; "the whole thought of ventilation was to prevent people from being poisoned by their own exhalation."[13]

Lady Broome in The Bedroom and the Boudoir (1878) lauded the use of the chimney of the open fireplace a source

of ventilation. Ella Rodman Church echoed these sentiments in How to Furnish a Home (1881)

> An open fire, and a wood fire at that, is a perfect treasure in a bedroom, and the handsomest piece of furniture that can be put into any room...a stove is too hot, besides being ungainly. But an open fire, with the pretty, dancing lights and shadows...is a boon to be thankful for...[14]

The critics, in addition to preaching against the use of the stove, began to encourage open windows in the bedroom. To insure proper ventilation of the bedroom, Godey's Lady's Book urged readers to open their bedroom windows at night and "use French bedsteads or those with low posts that precluded heavy hangings."[15] A story entitled "In Country Lodgings", written by Eliza Leslie and published in The Lady's Book in 1831, expressed contemporary opinions on ventilation of the bedroom. The tale revolved around a summer's lodging in a farmhouse near Philadelphia.

> The night was warm, and after removing the chimney board, I left the sash of my window open; though I had been cautioned not to do so, and told that in the country the night air was always unwholesome. But I remembered Dr. Franklin's admirable essay on the art of sleeping well.[16]

There was a growing perception that fresh air was good, but by the second quarter of the nineteenth century, "arguments favoring fresh air in bedchambers was accepted in only some of American households."[17]

Indications of heating devices were noted in the inventories studied. Andirons, which indicate the presence of a fireplace, were found in 70.2% of the best bedrooms in the first quarter and only 33.3% of the best bedrooms in the

second quarter (see figs. 4 & 5). The use of stoves in the best bedrooms peaked in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, at 19.1%. In the second half of the century stoves/andirons were found in less than 15% of the best bedrooms. These figures suggest a gradual shift from wood to coal, in urban areas, perhaps followed by a rapid adoption of central heating in the second half of the nineteenth century.[18]

As expected the least bedrooms had fewer sources of heat. Only 17% of the least bedrooms had andirons and only 6.4% had stoves in the first quarter. One critic, Ella Rodman Church, stated

> The heat that comes up from below will usually make the servants' room warm enough to prevent water from freezing in it; and this, with the comfortable kitchen for a sitting room will be all that is necessary.[19]

Although many of the authors of advice literature lauded the use of the fireplace, the inventories indicated it was little used by the second half of the nineteenth century. Edgar Martin in The Standard of Living in 1860 stated that fireplaces were still the predominant source of heating for chambers. The results from the inventory analysis do not support this, at least in urban households.

Plumbing and Hygiene

Before the concept of a separate room in which to address personal hygiene, the matter was handled in the bedroom. The objects associated with personal cleanliness can be divided into two areas: articles associated with

BEST BEDROOMS

	FIRST QUARTER		SECOND QUARTER		THIRD QUARTER		FOURTH QUARTER	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
TOTAL NO. BEDRMS.	47	100.0	42	100.0	56	100.0	10	100.0
STOVE	4	8.5	8	19.1	8	14.3	1	10.0
ANDIRONS, SHOVELS, TONGS	33	70.2	14	33.3	--	--	1	10.0

fig. 4

LEAST BEDROOMS

	FIRST QUARTER		SECOND QUARTER		THIRD QUARTER		FOURTH QUARTER	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
TOTAL NO. BEDRMS.	47	100.0	42	100.0	56	100.0	10	100.0
STOVE	3	6.4	2	4.8	--	--	1	10
ANDIRONS, SHOVELS, TONGS	8	17.0	2	4.8	--	--	--	--

fig. 5

washing (i.e. bathtub, basin/sink) and elimination (i.e. the close stool/toilet and chamber pot).

In the eighteenth century everyday cleanliness consisted of a basin of water and a towel, but toward the end of the century, these habits began to change. The end of the eighteenth century saw the installation of public baths and occasionally baths in private homes, all serving to emphasize cleanliness.[20]

But the nineteenth century saw a revolution in personal cleanliness. "Between 1750 and 1900 washing went from being an occasional and haphazard routine of a small segment of the population to a regular practice of the large bulk of the people."[21]

"Commitment to cleanliness grew stronger during the nineteenth century."[22] With an understanding of the skin's function in the removal of waste, cleanliness became more than just the desire to be fashionable. It wasn't until 1850, however, that regular personal washing became routine in large numbers of middle class households.[23] Even so, it was still a more urban than rural custom.

Changes in the personal hygiene of the people of the nineteenth century were reflected in the prescriptive literature of the time. Miss Leslie's Lady's House Book (1840) described the objects necessary for personal cleanliness. According to her the most elegant washstands were of mahogany with a marble top with space for a large basin and pitcher, glass tumbler, and china mug. Receptacles

must also be provided for soap, tooth-brushes, and nail-brushes, among other items.

Thomas Webster and Mrs. Parkes acknowledged in The American Family Encyclopedia of Useful Knowledge (1859), originally published in England as The Encyclopedia of Domestic Economy (1844), that

> There had long existed in this country a prejudice against bathing, or at least a degree of apathy rather surprising, indicated by the almost entire neglect of providing means for public bathing ... but at present this view is considerably altered.[24]

Although "this country" referred to England and "at present" to 1844, little had changed in the area of personal cleanliness since those words were written.

Catharine Beecher wrote The American Woman's Home (1869) for a middle class audience. Her attitude toward bathing incorporated a middle-class perspective.

> It has been supposed that large bath-tubs for immersing the whole person are indispensable for the proper cleaning of the skin. This is not so. A wet towel, applied every morning to the skin, followed by friction in pure air is all that is absolutely needed; although a full bath is a great luxury.[25]

Beecher, as a member of the Middle Class, would have had to carry her own water in order to fill an entire bathtub and then empty it.

Clarence Cook in The House Beautiful (1878) commended the idea of the washstand with movable apparatus in the bedroom, as opposed to the modern idea of a fixed washstand with hidden drain pipes. These ideas may seem old-

fashioned, unless Cook's background is explored. Cook was a member of the upper class and wrote for such an audience. New technology, in the nineteenth century , had a selective impact. "The poor, because of price, and the wealthy because of the domestic servant, failed to take advantage of many improvements".[26] It was the middle class who felt their impact the most.

Ella Rodman Church, writing for a middle class audience in How to Furnish a Home (1881), addressed the issue of fitting bathing facilities into a house not originally built with them. The author stated that "If a bath-room or small dressing room opens into the bedroom, so much the better; if not, and the sleeping apartment is of a respectable size, there is such an admirable excuse for a screen."[27]

Philadelphia's central water supply, made possible its "reputation among travelers of being the most cleanly of American cities. As early as 1849 there were 3,521 baths in what was then the city proper."[28] New York, with a population of 629,904 in 1855, had 1361 baths and 10,384 water closets. Boston with a population of 177,840 in 1860, had 3910 bathtubs, 9864 water closets, 10141 lavatories, and 13 shower baths.[29]

According to the Lady's Book bathrooms were found in most Philadelphia houses only by 1876.[30] Although "bathrooms and water-closets began to appear in American architects drawings by mid-century, but only in the most expensive houses."[31]

Out of the 155 inventories analyzed, 28 inventories mentioned a bathroom, and two mentioned bathhouses. The earliest mention of a bathroom is in the inventory of the estate of Thomas McEuen, taken in 1822. The contents are listed as "2 bathing tubs, 1 settee, 1 pine desk, 1 pine table." In the second quarter of the nineteenth century 14.3% of the inventories listed a bathroom. One inventory listed a bathhouse, which presumably was a separate structure erected on the property. Bathrooms were listed in 35.7% of the inventories in the third quarter and 20% of the inventories in the fourth quarter. This decrease could be the result of the skewed financial structure of the inventories. The median value of the inventories in the third quarter was $1077.00, while the median value in the fourth quarter was only $503.36.

Bathrooms were sometimes listed individually, but often the contents were listed and added in with the contents of another room. The reason is that before separate bathrooms, most needs took place in the bedroom. Sophie du Pont drew sketches of the morning routine of her family and recorded information about their rituals in her diary, kept between 1823 and 1833. "...Victorine's bedroom became the center of activity early each morning. There the young people gathered to brush their teeth, wash up, and assemble for breakfast."[32]

While Sophie du Pont wrote of life in a country house, Sydney George Fisher of Philadelphia expressed an urban viewpoint. Fisher had the benefit of a separate room in which to bathe. He recorded in his diary on December 20, 1852

> I go to my dressing room which is in the back building & is very comfortable, having a bath with hot and cold water and a water closet adjoining, also a sink to carry off waste water and slops...I take not a cold bath which is too severe, but make the water from 60 to 65...(it) is far preferable to my old fashion of a sponging bath which I used because I had no other in the house.[33]

There were still those who did without the benefit of a full bath in the morning. On July 15, 1857 Sydney George Fisher, clearly living in another house, recorded in his diary:

> Took a bath at the Sansom St. bathhouse, an extremely comfortable, clean and complete establishment. This is the only luxury that I have not here and had at my old House...I take a sitz sponge bath with a sponge every morning, which answers all the purposes of cleanliness, but is very different from a plunging bath in enjoyment.[34]

The basic tools associated with this routine were the washstand and the basin & pitcher (see fig. 6). From 1800-1825, 46.8% of the best bedrooms had washstands. This percentage peaked in the third quarter when 80.4% of the best bedrooms contained washstands. The decline of washstands in the fourth quarter may indicate the increasing presence of the modern bathroom. Seventeen percent of the best bedrooms in the first quarter had a basin and pitcher. In the second and third quarters, 42.9% contained some sort of accessories associated with personal cleanliness (basin &

BEST BEDROOMS

	FIRST QUARTER		SECOND QUARTER		THIRD QUARTER		FOURTH QUARTER	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
TOTAL NO.BEDRMS.	47	100	42	100	56	100	10	100
WASHSTANDS	22	46.8	33	78.6	45	80.4	6	60
MAHOGANY	2	4.3	5	11.9	3	5.4	--	--
MARBLE TOP	--	--	1	2.4	3	5.4	--	--
PAINTED	--	--	1	2.4	1	1.8	--	--
MAPLE	--	--	1	2.4	--	--	--	--
BASIN & PITCHER	8	17	11	26.2	3	5.4	--	--
CHAMBER WARE	--	--	2	4.8	2	3.6	--	--
CHAMBER SET	--	--	5	11.9	8	14.3	--	--
TOILET SET	--	--	--	--	9	16.1	--	--
TOILET WARE	--	--	--	--	2	3.6	--	--
TOWEL RACK	--	--	1	2.4	10	17.9	3	30
TOWEL STAND	--	--	3	7.1	6	10.7	--	--
SHAVING STAND	--	--	--	--	3	5.4	--	--
CLOSE STOOL	2	4.3	--	--	1	1.8	1	10
CHAMBER BOWL	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
SCREEN	3	6.4	1	2.4	--	--	--	--

fig. 6

	FIRST QUARTER		SECOND QUARTER		THIRD QUARTER		FOURTH QUARTER	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
TOTAL NO.BEDRMS.	47	100	42	100	56	100	10	100
WASHSTANDS	2	4.3	8	19.1	33	58.9	1	10
MAHOGANY	1	2.1	--	--	1	1.8	--	--
MARBLE TOP	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
PAINTED	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
MAPLE	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
BASIN & PITCHER	--	--	7	16.7	4	7.1	1	10
CHAMBER WARE	--	--	1	2.4	2	3.6	1	10
CHAMBER SET	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
TOILET SET	--	--	--	--	4	7.1	--	--
TOILET WARE	--	--	--	--	1	1.8	2	10
TOWEL RACK	--	--	--	--	3	5.4	--	--
TOWEL STAND	--	--	--	--	2	3.6	--	--
SHAVING STAND	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
CLOSE STOOL	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

fig. 7

pitcher, chamber/toilet sets, chamber/toilet ware), while none of the best bedrooms in the fourth quarter contained any of these items.

William Baxter wrote of the cleanliness of Americans in his travel account, America and the Americans, published in 1855:

> In point of cleanliness...the Americans are in advance of every other people...This is quite true as far as the interior of their houses is concerned; they wash and scrub frequently, and all new erections have bathrooms and other modern appliances necessary to health and comfort.[35]

Mr. Baxter also wrote of the existence of public baths which served the people who had no baths of their own. "The Croton Aqueduct conveys an abundant stream at all seasons of the year to New York...It is an inestimable boon to the population, in valuable in case of fire, for the use of public bathing houses."[36]

Close stools and "night conveniences" were not mentioned with any frequency. Close stools were mentioned in 4.3% of the best bedrooms in the first quarter, and 1.8% in the third quarter listed them. One inventory in the fourth quarter listed a chamber bowl. Again, the diaries and sketches of Sophie du Pont (1823-1833) provide helpful information.

> ...the late-afternoon distribution of chamber pots fresh from their daily airing could be a disturbing adventure...The chamber pots distributed for nighttime and emergency use were supplanted during the day by the high-windowed retiring room. [37]

These lines suggest that chamber pots were not permanent fixtures in bedrooms, which may account for their absence in the inventories. They were removed each day for cleaning and returned to the rooms for use during the night. During the day, Sophie du Pont mentions using an indoor facility affectionately known as "Grimgothico, the Mrs. Adams, the Mrs. Jones, and P.Pott's Hall."[38]

The percentage of least bedrooms with washstands and accessories is considerably lower (see fig. 7). Servants, who most likely occupied these rooms, could have performed their personal cleansing routines in the kitchen. Ella Rodman Church, in How to Furnish a Home (1881), does however list a pitcher and wash bowl as necessary items for an adequate room for a servant.

Lighting and Lamps

The open flame was the earliest source of artificial illumination. "Candles, from their portability and other qualities [supplied], upon the whole, the most convenient and the most general mode of obtaining artificial light for domestic purposes."[39] Other types of artificial light, utilizing whale oil, lard oil, and eventually kerosene, gas,

and electricity, were developed and replaced the earlier technology.

> The pattern of daily life and work, the arrangement of furniture, the colors, fabrics and furnishing techniques used for interior decoration were all determined in part by the half of every day that most people lived in darkness-darkness only barely relieved by the meager light of fireplace, candle or oil lamp.[40]

In The Encyclopedia of Domestic Economy (1844) Webster and Parkes devoted five chapters to the topic of artificial illumination. They believed " of all the substances employed for procuring artificial light, oil is the most extensively used."[41] In the interest of guiding their readers, Webster and Parkes recounted an experiment in which "the economy of producing light" with whale oil, sperm oil, and hog's lard in a solar lamp was tested. They concluded "the use of the best winter-bleached whale oil in the solar Argand lamp, whereby the best artificial light now in use will be produced."[42] But by 1859 virtually no whale oil was available due to over hunting.

Although other means of artificial illumination were developed, the candle was still frequently used, especially in rural households.

> In "Country Boarding', by T.S. Arthur, a Philadelphia family took rooms for the summer in a rural house to escape the heat of the city. Accustomed to light in their chamber at night, the family learned that "such a thing as an oil lamp was not in the house", and in its place, "a long tallow candle was lit on retiring to bed, with the hope that it would burn all night."[43]

Godey's Lady's Book reported that candles were still used in the American interior at the time of the Centennial.[44] "In a

story by Maria Harland set in 1863, entitled 'Carrying Weight' a single candle was the only source of illumination in each bedroom."[45]

Webster and Parkes also mentioned gas technology saying, "Illumination by means of inflammable gas affords one of the most striking instances of the adaptation of scientific discovery to the comforts and elegances of life."[46] Philadelphia chartered its first gas company in 1835, but this technology didn't find its way into city homes immediately.[47] "In the forties and fifties gas lamps came to be used to some extent in the homes of the upper and Middle Classes in such cities as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore."[48] In 1860, the gas company in Philadelphia had 41,000 customers, "but it seems unlikely that any large proportion of the population used gas for lighting" at this time.[49]

> Gas lighting, because of the elaborate installations required to manufacture and distribute the fuel, was largely restricted to cities. Hence its popularity in public buildings, where the many outlets justified the installation. Because of its convenience and efficiency, however, it came to be used even in homes of modest income.[50]

Gas was "the popular means of illumination in cities until the introduction of the electric light".[51] In rural areas, "where gas distribution was not practical and electricity was slow in coming, kerosene lighting remained predominant until well into the twentieth century".[52]

In The House Beautiful (1878) Clarence Cook recommended letting plenty of sunlight in the room and the absence of gas. He claimed that people were relegating gas to its proper place-halls, offices, and streets, and were using kerosene lamps in parlors and in the bedroom. It cannot be determined if this is true, based on the inventories, since the kind of lighting fixtures used cannot always be specifically determined.

In the inventories analyzed, 10.6% of the best bedrooms in the first quarter mentioned some sort of lighting device (see fig. 8). Of the inventories in the second quarter, 28.6% listed lighting devices, 28.6% in the third quarter, and 30% in the fourth quarter listed lighting devices. The limited appearance of lighting devices in the inventories can be attributed to the fact that the devices were removed each morning from the bedchamber, cleaned, refueled, and stored in the kitchen or elsewhere in preparation for night use. Once gas was introduced the lighting fixtures were considered part of the house and were not inventoried either.

The number of candleholders mentioned in the best bedrooms indicate that candles remained a dominant source of artificial illumination for the first three quarters of the nineteenth century, even though other methods of illumination had been developed.

BEST BEDROOMS

	FIRST QUARTER		SECOND QUARTER		THIRD QUARTER		FOURTH QUARTER	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
TOTAL NO. BEDRMS.	47	100.0	42	100.0	56	100.0	10	100.0
CANDLESTICKS	3	6.4	7	16.7	7	12.5	--	--
CANDLELABRAS	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
CHANDELIER	--	--	--	--	1	1.8	--	--
LAMP	2	4.3	5	11.9	1	1.8	1	10.0
GAS FIXTURE	--	--	--	--	5	8.9	1	10.0
BRACKET LAMP	--	--	--	--	2	3.6	1	10.0
DROP LIGHT & GLOBE	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

fig. 8

LEAST BEDROOMS

	FIRST QUARTER		SECOND QUARTER		THIRD QUARTER		FOURTH QUARTER	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
TOTAL NO. BEDRMS.	47	100.0	42	100.0	56	100.0	10	100.0
CANDLESTICKS	--	--	2	4.8	--	--	--	--
CANDLELABRAS	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
CHANDELIER	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
LAMP	1	2.1	--	--	--	--	2	20.0
GAS FIXTURE	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
BRACKET LAMP	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
DROP LIGHT & GLOBE	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	10.0

fig.9

Other sources of portable illumination mentioned in the inventories included lamps, but no indications were given as to their type. The type of lighting device indicated by the term "lamp" depends upon the time period. The lamps mentioned in the first quarter of the nineteenth century were most likely whale-oil, while those mentioned in the second quarter could have been whale oil, burning-fluid, or lard oil. The term "lamp" could have indicated an argand burner in the first half of the century. "Lamp" used after 1840 could have meant a solar lamp. In the third quarter "lamp" could also have been used to indicate a kerosene lamp, which "became the dominant lighting technology from the 1860s until well into the twentieth century."[53]

Gas fixtures were not specifically mentioned in the inventories until the third quarter of the nineteenth century.

The changes in technology that affected many aspects of life in the nineteenth century were reflected in the inventories. In the beginning of the century the fireplace warmed an apartment, but by the century's end central heating was commonly used. Advances in technology also affected the area of personal cleanliness. It went from a matter handled in the bedroom, where bowls and tubs were filled and emptied by hand, to an activity that took place in a separate room, where water was dispensed and carried away by a system of pipes. While the inventories provided information on heating/ventilation and plumbing/hygiene they

did so indirectly; information on lighting was more directly available. Lighting technology evolved from the management of the open flame to gas illumination. The least bedrooms analyzed contained fewer sources of artificial illumination, until the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century, but the types utilized were the same as in the best bedrooms (see fig.9).

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CHAPTER IV

SLEEPING ROOM FURNISHINGS

The Bedstead, Bedding, and Bed Hangings

In the nineteenth century, there was a precise terminology used to denote the furniture associated with sleeping. It is clear what is meant by some of the terms for instance, featherbed and mattress, but the terms bedstead, bed, bedding, bed furniture, and bed clothes have meanings which are not well known to our time.

In the following discussion of the inventory analysis, the furnishings of the best bedrooms are discussed first, followed by a discussion of the least bedrooms.

The Bedstead

The bedstead was the frame that supported the bed, mattress and other articles. In the inventories from the first and third quarter, there were more bedsteads than bedrooms, indicating that some of the best bedrooms contained more than one bedstead (see figs. 10 & 11). The second and fourth quarter figures show fewer bedsteads than bedrooms.[1] The "least" bedrooms were most likely occupied by servants. It is unlikely that each servant would have been given a private room, thus accounting for the fact that there are more bedsteads than bedrooms. It was assumed at the beginning of this study that the "best" bedrooms were most likely occupied by the heads of the household. The fact that there are more bedsteads than "best" bedrooms, in

BEST BEDROOMS

	FIRST QUARTER		SECOND QUARTER		THIRD QUARTER		FOURTH QUARTER	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
TOTAL NO.BEDSTEADS	61	100.0	41	100.0	64	100.0	9	100.0
MAHOGANY	16	26.2	11	26.8	4	6.3	1	11.0
CHERRY	1	1.6	1	2.4	--	--	--	--
PINE	1	1.6	--	--	--	--	--	--
MAPLE	2	3.3	6	14.6	1	1.6	--	--
POPLAR	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
WALNUT	--	--	--	--	4	6.3	1	11.0
ROSEWOOD	--	--	--	--	1	1.6	--	--
PAINTED	3	4.9	2	4.9	1	1.6	--	--
HIGH POST	4	6.6	1	2.4	--	--	--	--
LOW POST	2	3.3	--	--	--	--	--	--
FOUR-POST	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
FIELD	4	6.6	--	--	--	--	--	--
COT	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
TENT	1	1.6	--	--	--	--	--	--
TRUNDLE	1	1.6	--	--	1	1.6	--	--
FRENCH	--	--	2	4.9	4	6.3	--	--
COTTAGE	--	--	--	--	1	1.6	--	--
IRON	--	--	--	--	1	1.6	--	--
SOFA	--	--	--	--	1	1.6	--	--
SACKING BOTTOM	9	14.8	--	--	--	--	--	--
BED	30	49.2	18	43.9	17	26.6	1	11.0
FEATHERBED	18	29.5	9	22.0	4	6.3	2	22.0
MATTRESS	35	57.4	18	43.9	28	43.8	2	22.0
HAIR	4	6.6	4	9.8	--	--	1	11.0
STRAW	2	3.3	1	2.4	2	3.1	--	--
HUSK	--	--	--	--	1	1.6	--	--
SPRING	--	--	--	--	5	7.8	1	11.0
BEDDING	15	24.6	19	46.3	25	39.1	4	44.0
BED FURNITURE	1	1.6	2	4.9	--	--	--	--
BED CLOTHES	1	1.6	4	9.8	--	--	--	--
BOLSTER	25	41.0	10	24.4	16	25.0	3	33.0
PILLOWS	23	37.7	10	24.4	18	28.1	3	33.0
BED CURTAINS	23	37.7	5	12.2	1	1.6	--	--

fig. 10

LEAST BEDROOMS

	FIRST QUARTER		SECOND QUARTER		THIRD QUARTER		FOURTH QUARTER	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
TOTAL NO.BEDSTEADS	69	100	54	100	66	100	9	100
MAHOGANY	5	7.3	1	1.9	--	--	--	--
CHERRY	--	--	1	1.9	1	1.5	--	--
PINE	1	1.5	--	--	--	--	--	--
MAPLE	--	--	3	5.6	1	1.5	--	--
POPLAR	2	2.9	--	--	--	--	--	--
WALNUT	--	--	--	--	1	1.5	2	20
ROSEWOOD	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
PAINTED	6	8.7	--	--	--	--	--	--
HIGH POST	2	2.9	4	7.4	5	7.6	--	--
LOW POST	1	1.5	2	3.7	1	1.5	--	--
FOUR-POST	--	--	2	3.7	--	--	--	--
FIELD	4	4.4	1	1.9	--	--	--	--
COT	7	10.1	1	1.9	--	--	--	--
TENT	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
TRUNDLE	2	2.9	--	--	1	1.6	--	--
FRENCH	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
COTTAGE	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
IRON	--	--	1	1.9	3	4.6	--	--
SOFA	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
SACKING BOTTOM	4	5.8	--	--	--	--	--	--
BED	40	58	17	31.5	18	27.3	1	10
FEATHERBED	7	10.1	10	18.5	6	9.1	1	10
MATTRESS	12	17.4	13	24.1	13	19.7	2	20
HAIR	--	--	--	--	2	1.5	2	20
STRAW	--	--	--	--	1	1.5	1	10
HUSK	--	--	--	--	1	1.5	1	10
SPRING	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
BEDDING	17	24.6	22	40.7	28	42.2	5	50
BED FURNITURE	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
BED CLOTHES	--	--	2	3.7	--	--	--	--
BOLSTER	9	13	13	24.1	12	18.2	1	10
PILLOWS	11	15.9	9	16.7	16	24.2	1	10
BED CURTAINS	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

fig. 11

some instances, suggest that some of the "best" bedrooms may have belonged to occupants other than the heads of the household, perhaps children or the rooms could have been occupied by children in addition to the heads of the household.

When a specific type of bedstead was mentioned in the best bedrooms in the first half of the century, it was most frequently mahogany. In the second half of the century French and walnut bedsteads appear as often as mahogany. In the least bedrooms, other types of bedsteads, such as high post, low post, and cot bedsteads, were recorded more frequently. Iron and brass bedsteads appeared infrequently or not at all in the inventories, but the writers of the second half of the nineteenth century commented on them.

The prescriptive literature provided more information on bedsteads. John Claudius Loudon explained in An Encyclopedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture and Furniture (1833) the social class distinctions in the major types of bedsteads. Loudon showed designs for camp beds, half-tester bedsteads, French beds, and tent beds for his "cottage" audience. "Four-post bedsteads," explained the author, "are more suitable for villas than for cottages ... [They] are objectionable for cottagers, both on account of the room they take up, and the quantity of bed furniture which they require."[2]

The author of The Workwoman's Guide (1838) listed the bedsteads that were in general use at the time: the four-post bed, the tent bed, the camp, half-tester, French pole, French arrow bed, canopy bed, French block bed, turn-up bed, stump bed, and trestle or X bed.[3]

In The American Family Encyclopedia of Useful Knowledge (1859) Webster and Parkes offered their opinions on the best bedsteads. "Four-post bedsteads, as they are called are the sort most generally used in England for the best beds."[4] They also thought favorably of iron bedsteads saying "iron bedstead have now become very general, and are much more easily kept clean than those of wood."[5]

Andrew Jackson Downing, (1850), recommended "the simple French furniture" for the bedrooms of villas.[6] He believed "the high four-post bedstead, with curtains, still common in England, is almost entirely laid aside in the United States for the French bedstead."[7] Downing suggested for a "cottage bedroom" complete sets of chamber or bedroom furniture. He also wrote that "for cleanliness and durability [iron bedsteads] are the best of all bedsteads for servant's bedrooms."[8]

H.J. Cooper, in The Art of Furnishing (1879), noted that bedsteads of brass or iron were becoming more popular. Charles Locke Eastlake made note of this trend also. He noticed that the four-poster was succeeded by the wooden canopied bedstead or half-tester, and the french bedstead. While these forms were still in use, "brass and iron are

fast replacing mahogany and rosewood as materials in their manufacture."[9] Despite the apparent popularity of iron bedsteads, Eastlake found the design of the iron bedsteads to be generally poor; the framework for overhead canopies was weak. Brass bedsteads, claimed Eastlake, were superior than iron and of better design.

Beds and Mattresses

According to The Oxford English Dictionary, the term "bed" designated a "sack or mattress of sufficient size, stuffed with something soft or springy, raised generally upon a 'bed-stead' or support and covered with sheets, blankets, etc."

In the inventories specific mention was made of four different types of mattress: hair, husk, straw, and spring. No spring mattresses were listed until the last half of the 19th century, and then only in the best bedrooms (see fig. 10). Hair mattresses were more common.

Throughout the century, beds appeared more frequently in the least bedrooms, while the best bedrooms were more likely to list a featherbed and mattress. The figures from the inventories indicate that beds and mattresses were used in conjunction with each other. The most frequently found combination in the best bedrooms was a bed or featherbed and a mattress, while in the least bedrooms it was the bed alone on the bedstead (see fig. 11).

Lydia Maria Child offered advice on how to take care of mattresses in The Frugal Housewife (1829). "When mattresses

get hard and bunc[h]y, rip them, take the hair out, pull it thoroughly by hand, let it lie a day or two to air, wash the tick, lay it in as light and even as possible, and catch it down as before."[10]

According to The Workwoman's Guide (1838) the first mattress laid on a bedstead was usually of straw, while the second mattress was of horse hair of wool.

The American Family Encyclopedia of Useful Knowledge (1859) stated that feather beds were "in universal use in this country."[11] Webster and Parkes offered further information on beds and mattress.

> Formerly it was the custom to use only feather beds laid upon the sacking, but these beds were very thick, and contained much feathers. Economy and attention to health have introduced the custom of laying a thinner feather bed upon a mattress.[12]

Webster and Parkes explained that "mattresses are a firmer kind of bed, usually placed under the feather beds, but sometimes preferred to the latter for sleeping on."[13]

For a beginning bed, Ella Rodman Church said, a low price bed "made of springs that fasten onto the slats...and a mattress of well-picked corn-husks with a cotton top" would be sufficient.[14] She added, that a hair mattress can be acquired "when the ship comes in." According to Church, the hair mattress should be placed over a spring mattress and both should be remade every two years.

Lady Barker Broome liked the spring mattress and felt that old feather beds were falling out of favor. She wrote

in The Bedroom and Boudoir (1878), "A couple of thick mattresses, one of horsehair and one of wool, will do."[15]

A passage from Elisabeth Garrett's book At Home: The American Family 1750-1870 (1990) provided some insight into the area of feather beds and mattresses. Feather beds were hot on a summer's night.

> Margaret Hunter Hall complained of being obliged to sleep on a feather bed in upstate New York one broiling June night in 1827, and thought it 'strange that in a country where there is so hot a summer they should not universally use mattresses, but they have not learnt yet to adopt comforts suitable to the different seasons.[16]

Bedding

The Oxford English Dictionary give two slightly different meanings for "bedding". It can be "a collective name for the articles which compose a bed esp. the mattress, featherbed, or other article lain upon, and the bedclothes" or it can mean "a supply of bed-clothes for one bed". Precisely how it was used by the inventory takers cannot be known. Bedding was consistently mentioned in the inventories throughout the century. It occurred with comparable frequency in the best (see fig. 10) and least (see fig. 11) bedrooms. The difference was in the value assigned to it.

Bed clothes were found only in the inventories from the first half of the century, predominantly in the best bedrooms. In The Oxford English Dictionary, this term denoted "the sheets and blankets with which a bed is

covered". It is possible that in the second half of the century, the term "bedding" included many of these objects.[17]

The appearance of bolsters and pillows remained consistent throughout the century in the best and least bedrooms, with the percentages of bedsteads with bolster and bedsteads with pillows being greater in the best bedrooms (see fig. 10).

Bed Hangings

In the beginning of the 19th century, curtains were an accepted and necessary part of the well-furnished bedstead, helping to keep the occupant of the bed warm at night. In addition, bed hangings provided the occupant with some privacy in a room with many beds.[18] Developments in heating, changing views on ventilation and "night air", the increasing number of rooms, and the segregation of children by sexes in most houses that could afford it, contributed to the demise of bed hangings.

The Workwoman's Guide (1838) suggested that "beds for common use are hung with linen or cotton check, or stripe, print or stuff, but for better purposes, with dimity, firm stuff, moreen, damask, chintz, turkey twill, and lined with glazed calico or muslin of various colors."[19]

Webster and Parkes offered their opinions on bed hangings in The American Family Encyclopedia of Useful Knowledge (1859). They said that silk, damask, moreen,

chintz, or dimity were used for bed hangings, with silk being the most expensive and therefore seldom used. Moreen and other woolen stuffs were not, however, used as much any more. Chintz, according to Webster and Parkes, was the preferred fabric for bed hangings. Dimity was also popular because it was cheap and could be washed easily. Dimity and chintz had one disadvantage over woolen stuffs, in that they were flammable.[20]

Although Miss Eliza Leslie said in The Lady's House Book (1840), "no bedstead looks so well as the square, high post, with curtains," it was not necessary, in her opinion, to have the curtains pulled all the way around the bed.[21]

In The Art of Furnishing (1879) H. J. Cooper wrote, "The bedstead is seldom now so closely curtained and canopied as formerly, and wisely so, since, except at the head, curtains are worse than useless, as they prevent the free access of air."[22] Lady Barker Broome suggested that screens be placed on each side of the bed, thereby providing privacy, but not restricting the circulation of air.

Charles Locke Eastlake, and his American followers like Ella Rodman Church, agreed with these sentiments. While close curtains were objectionable in terms of ventilation, head canopies weren't and provided a very inviting effect.

The use of bed curtains in the best bedrooms declined during the century (see fig. 10). While 37.7% of the best bedsteads in the first quarter had bed curtains, by the fourth quarter none of the best bedrooms mentioned bed

curtains. In the first quarter four of the least bedsteads had hangings and one bedstead in the second quarter had hangings (see fig. 11). In a few instances the type of bed curtains was specified. In the first quarter cotton, worsted, linen, chintz, and dimity bed curtains were mentioned in some of the best bedrooms. Baize was the only material specified in the least bedrooms of the first quarter. No materials were specifically mentioned in the remaining three quarters.

Other Textiles

Window Curtains

Less than half of the best bedrooms mention window curtains (see fig. 12). Use of window curtains, in this study, peaked in the first quarter of the 19th century at 46.8%. Window curtains were not prevalent in the least bedrooms (see fig. 13). The types of window curtains specifically mentioned in the first quarter were cotton, chintz, dimity, calico, worsted, and baize. In the second quarter one inventory mentioned a set of window curtains made of "blue worsted moreen." While the use of shades and blinds was not prevalent in these inventories, several different types were mentioned: venetian, canton, brown holland, and linen.

The author of The Workwoman's Guide (1838) believed that the window curtains in the bedroom "should always

BEST BEDROOMS

	FIRST QUARTER		SECOND QUARTER		THIRD QUARTER		FOURTH QUARTER	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
TOTAL NO. BEDRMS	47	100.0	42	100.0	56	100.0	10	100.0
CARPET	35	74.5	33	78.6	54	96.4	9	90.0
BRUSSELS	3	6.4	3	7.1	4	7.1	2	20.0
INGRAIN	6	12.8	5	11.9	4	7.1	--	--
RAG	1	2.1	--	--	--	--	--	--
TAPESTRY	--	--	--	--	1	1.8	--	--
VELVET	--	--	--	--	1	1.8	--	--
FLOORCLOTH	1	2.1	1	2.4	--	--	--	--
OILCLOTH	1	2.1	1	2.4	--	--	--	--
MATTING	2	4.3	1	2.4	3	5.4	1	10.0
RUG	8	17.0	--	--	1	1.8	3	30.0
WINDOW CURTAINS	22	46.8	10	23.8	8	14.3	2	20.0
WINDOW CORNICE	8	17.0	3	7.1	3	5.4	--	--
WINDOW BLINDS	3	6.4	6	14.3	9	16.1	1	10.0
WINDOW SHADES	--	--	--	--	9	16.1	2	20.0

fig. 12

LEAST BEDROOMS

	FIRST QUARTER		SECOND QUARTER		THIRD QUARTER		FOURTH QUARTER	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
TOTAL NO. BEDRMS	47	100.0	42	100.0	56	100.0	10	100.0
CARPET	5	10.6	17	40.5	36	64.3	6	60.0
BRUSSELS	--	--	--	--	1	1.8	--	--
INGRAIN	--	--	--	--	2	3.6	1	10.0
RAG	--	--	1	2.4	1	1.8	--	--
TAPESTRY	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
VELVET	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
FLOORCLOTH	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	10.0
OILCLOTH	--	--	1	2.4	--	--	--	--
MATTING	--	--	--	--	3	5.4	1	10.0
RUG	1	2.1	--	--	--	--	--	--
WINDOW CURTAINS	4	8.5	1	2.4	--	--	1	10.0
WINDOW CORNICE	1	2.1	--	--	--	--	--	--
WINDOW BLINDS	1	2.1	1	2.4	2	1.8	--	--
WINDOW SHADES	--	--	--	--	6	10.7	2	20.0

fig. 13

accord" with the bed curtains in color, material and shape.[23] While drapery for curtains in sitting rooms was generally attached to one cornice, this lady stated that "for bedrooms drapery is always separately hung."[24]

The American Family Encyclopedia of Useful Knowledge (1859) by Thomas Webster and Mrs. Parkes explained the method of hanging window curtains in more detail. "The general mode of hanging curtains at present, in the better sort of rooms, is by heaving rings at the top of the curtains, passing over a rod stretched across," opened and closed by pulleys.[25] A valence was generally used to conceal the rod. Webster and Parkes offered a reason to use window curtains in the bedroom,

> Window curtains add much to the comfort and elegance of apartments; considerable taste and judgement are exercised in designing them of the most agreeable forms, and adapting them in the most judicious manner for the several places to which they are destined. Their use is either to add warmth to the apartments by excluding the draughts of cold air; to exclude the rays of the sun, which in summer are injurious to furniture.[26]

Eastlake in Hints on Household Taste (1868) said that curtains should hang within two or three inches of they floor and be looped back; any longer and they would drag on the floor and soil. He felt that it was better to have light paper on the walls and have curtains of chintz or printed cotton patterns as white curtains would soil too rapidly. Ella Rodman Church, author of How to Furnish a Home (1881) felt that the upholstery should determine what curtains were used.

According to Edgar Martin in The Standard of Living in 1860 in the decade before the Civil War beds, and especially windows, were elaborately and frequently expensively draped. Common fabrics were plain worsteds, cotton damasks, and fine satins.[27] This does not accord with the findings from the inventories.

Floor Coverings

> The Industrial Revolution, begun in England during the last decades of the 18th century, spread to textile mills in New England in the early decades of the 19th century... The industrialization of floor covering manufacture developed more slowly because wool, unlike cotton, was dependent on foreign sources and was more difficult to prepare for use. Nevertheless, by 1830 advances in wool spinning and the enactment of two protectionist tariffs had encouraged the fledgling American carpet industry. By the mid-19th century, an increasing number of middle-class American households could purchase factory-produced floor coverings.[28]

Andrew Jackson Downing (1850) wrote that "the floors of better cottages in this country--at least in the northern states--are universally covered with carpet or matting."[29]

However, in The Standard of Living in 1860 Edgar Martin noted that in the period from 1850-1875, only the houses of the wealthy were fully carpeted. "The floors were covered to the walls and the carpets firmly nailed down - and even among the poor and rural classes rugs of carpeting dotted the floors of the more important rooms."[30] The findings from the inventories support this.

Even in the first quarter of the 19th century, before carpeting became available to a wide range of people, 74.5%

of the best bedrooms were recorded as having some type of carpet (see fig. 12). Ingrain carpeting was found in 12.8% of the best bedrooms, 6.4% had Brussels, and 2.1% listed a rag carpet. Other types of carpets found in the inventories of the first quarter include one "old turkey" and one scotch. In the third quarter a tapestry carpet, a French carpet and a velvet carpet were listed in the furnishings of best bedrooms. Rugs, floorcloths, oilcloths, and matting appeared infrequently in the best bedrooms. The number of bedrooms with carpeting increased throughout the next two quarters of the century.

The percentage of best bedrooms with a carpet dropped to 90.0% in the fourth quarter. This could be due to the fact that fewer inventories for the last quarter of the 19th century were used, or could be, in some part, a response to the edicts of Charles Locke Eastlake. In the late 1870s, Charles Locke Eastlake was at the forefront of a change in attitude toward wall-to-wall carpeting. He disliked the universally accepted custom of covering every portion of the floor with carpet and felt that the old custom of a bed-side rug, while the rest of the floor was bare, was healthier and more cleanly.

In The Art of Furnishing (1879), H.J. Cooper allowed the use of carpets in bedrooms, but insisted that the bedroom should never be carpeted wall-to-wall "a small margin should be left all round, which may be covered with matting, or any of the soft warm floor-cloths."[31]

Ella Rodman Church felt that the absence of a woolen floor covering was desirable in a bedroom, with straw matting the next best thing to no carpet at all. She did say, however, that most housekeepers would not give up their carpets. In this case, Church said, "...let it [carpet] be a soft gray, then of the smallest possible pattern."[32] Church was the only one to mention carpeting in servant's rooms. She felt that a rag carpet or a cheap ingrain would be sufficient.

The use of carpet in the least bedrooms followed a similar trend (see fig. 13). The percentage of bedrooms with carpeting increased from 10.6% in the first quarter, to 64.3% in the third quarter, and fell to 60% in the last quarter. Throughout the century, the percentage of least bedrooms with carpeting is considerably lower than that of the best bedrooms. Even the less expensive forms of floor coverings such as floorcloths, oilcloths, matting, and rugs, appeared less frequently.

Furniture

During the nineteenth century, many changes occurred in the furniture industry. "At the beginning of the century most domestically produced goods were sold to the public by the men who made them", but by the century's end, the artisan was confined largely to the role of producer while his goods were sold to the consumer, in a showroom, by a retail merchant.[33]

Changes also occurred in the way goods were produced. The invention of new types of lathes and saws during the first half of the nineteenth century "made possible the furniture factories, which could produce large quantities of standardized pieces at low cost."[34] The separation of production from retailing, mass production, along with better methods of transportation, and advertising all contributed to changes in the furniture industry.

The advice literature of the nineteenth century devoted many pages to the topic of furniture. Some authors illustrated designs, some gave advice on what furniture to buy and where to put it, and still others criticized the designs of the time. One of the earliest discussions on bedroom furniture was found in John Claudius Loudon's An Encyclopedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture and Furniture (1833). Loudon identified two kinds of bedroom chairs: "a light sort for common use, and strong elbow or easy chairs for times of sickness."[35] He defined light chairs as those with rush or cane bottoms. He also indicated three categories of bedroom tables: "those for holding washing utensils; dressing tables, and tables for sick persons."[36]

Wardrobes, according to Loudon, were an essential item in the bedroom. He added, "Chest of drawers are the common substitute for wardrobes, but they are very far inferior to them for keeping clothes."[37] Other writers of the period agreed with Loudon's opinion of the wardrobe. In An

Encyclopedia of Domestic Economy (1844) Thomas Webster and Mrs. Parkes agreed that a wardrobe was better than a chest of drawers.

In The Lady's House Book (1840), Miss Eliza Leslie described dressing tables and coverings noting, "The most elegant dressing tables are of mahogany, with marble tops, having at the back a large mirror, with candle branches or lamp brackets on each side."[38] Leslie mentioned an alternative to this table: a dressing table of plain, unpainted wood, covered in muslin.

Leslie also stated that "every chamber should have a rocking-chair, a stuffed easy chair, or something similar, and one or two footstools."[39] Miss Leslie also required a few low chairs, and a large sofa with pillows or a large settee should be placed in the bedroom.

Ella Rodman Church claimed,

> A couch or lounge is necessary in a bedroom in order that the bed may be kept in the immaculate condition which is its principal charm, as throwing one's self down on it for an afternoon nap is no improvement to snowy covers, and gives a generally untidy appearance... This couch or lounge should be low and broad, able to serve as another bed on occasion.[40]

In 1855 Godey's Lady's Book stated that, in general, a suit of chamber furniture was considered to include a dressing table or bureau (each with a mirror), a small table, chairs, a bedstead, a toilet set, and a wardrobe.[41]

Charles Locke Eastlake devoted lines in his book Hints on Household Taste (1868) to a critique of contemporary furniture design and the furnishing of the home. He felt

that "modern bedrooms are too fussy in their fitting up."[42] Eastlake believed that honest workmanship led to artistic furniture, and warned that "just because a piece is made of a more valuable material doesn't mean it is better. The design many not be as good."[43] He added that "bed-room chairs of modern manufacture are, as a rule, of simpler, and therefore of better design, than those made for the drawing-room."[44] The best ready made chairs, in his estimation, were rush-bottomed, with black-stained woodwork, with low seats and high backs. Eastlake particularly abhorred the practice of encircling toilet tables with a sort of muslin petticoat stiffened by a calico crinoline, or putting the same thing around the frame of the toilet glass. It was better, in his opinion, to have a toilet table with a marble top and a few convenient little drawers.

Ella Rodman Church , in How to Furnish a Home (1881), stated that "toilet tables with lace or muslin drapery over a frame of pine has been fashionable, but older styles [undraped] are coming back."[45] In the words of Church "an apostle of high art [Charles Locke Eastlake] hurls his lance against the draped articles."[46] Church replied to his sentiments by saying "although the mahogany marble-topped contrivance, with its few convenient little drawers is undoubtedly preferable for a room inhabited by a gentlemen, the toilet table proper does more toward furnishing."[47] Church recommended having an oval or round table in the bedroom, "with a cover harmonizing in color with the rest of

the belongings," that could hold a writing case of a work basket.[48]

The furniture found in the inventories had been divided into three categories: items that function as storage units, pieces designed for sitting or lounging, and tables.

Storage

Trends in the inventory data were identified (see figs. 14 and 15). The chest, that basic unit of medieval furniture, was not a fashionable piece of bedroom furniture during the nineteenth century. It was, however, found in 10.6% of the least bedrooms. In the best bedrooms the bureau was the most frequently mentioned and enduring item. The fact that the term "chest of drawers" was used only in the first quarter, and then only 17% of the time, suggest that it was old-fashioned and "bureau" was the more fashionable term. The wardrobe appeared in 25.5% of the best bedrooms.

Bureaus remained popular items of furniture in the second quarter of the nineteenth century with 92.9% of the best bedrooms having one (see fig. 14). The term dressing bureau appeared for the first time. Wardrobes were found in 42.9% of the best bedrooms. In the least bedrooms, the first wardrobes appeared. As in the best bedrooms, the bureau is the most frequently recorded item of furniture (see fig. 15).

In the inventories of the third quarter, 94.6% of the best bedrooms had a bureau, 28.6% had a dressing bureau (see fig. 14). While not as popular as the bureau, a wardrobe was

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BEST BEDROOMS

	FIRST QUARTER		SECOND QUARTER		THIRD QUARTER		FOURTH QUARTER	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
TOTAL NO. BEDRMS.	47	100.0	42	100.0	56	100.0	10	100.0
CHEST OF DRAWERS	8	17.0	--	--	--	--	--	--
BUREAU	51	108.5	39	92.9	53	94.6	7	70.0
DRESSING BUREAU	--	--	8	19.1	16	28.6	1	10.0
CHEST	1	2.1	3	7.1	2	3.6	--	--
WARDROBE	12	25.5	18	42.9	37	66.1	7	70.0
CLOTHES PRESS	2	4.3	1	2.4	1	1.8	--	--
DESK	5	10.6	5	11.9	2	3.6	--	--
GFOOKCASE	2	4.3	2	4.8	5	8.9	--	--
BOOKSTAND	2	4.3	1	2.4	--	--	--	--
TRUNK	4	8.5	6	14.3	--	--	--	--
SIDEBOARD	1	2.1	--	--	--	--	--	--
WORKSTAND	3	6.4	3	7.1	3	5.4	--	--
SECRETARY	3	6.4	7	16.7	2	3.6	--	--
STAND	13	27.7	11	26.2	4	7.1	--	--
ETAGERE	--	--	--	--	2	3.6	1	10.0
WHAT-NOT	--	--	--	--	2	3.6	1	10.0

fig. 14

LEAST BEDROOMS

	FIRST QUARTER		SECOND QUARTER		THIRD QUARTER		FOURTH QUARTER	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
TOTAL NO. BEDRMS.	47	100.0	42	100.0	56	100.0	10	100.0
CHEST OF DRAWERS	3	6.4	--	--	--	--	--	--
BUREAU	13	27.7	18	42.9	27	48.2	5	50.0
DRESSING BUREAU	--	--	4	9.5	1	1.8	--	--
CHEST	5	10.6	3	7.1	2	3.6	--	--
WARDROBE	--	--	1	2.4	4	7.1	2	20.0
CLOTHES PRESS	1	2.1	3	7.1	--	--	--	--
DESK	6	12.8	2	4.8	4	7.1	1	10.0
GFOOKCASE	1	2.1	1	2.4	2	3.6	1	10.0
BOOKSTAND	1	2.1	--	--	--	--	--	--
TRUNK	3	6.4	1	2.4	--	--	2	20.0
SIDEBOARD	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
WORKSTAND	--	--	2	4.8	1	1.8	--	--
SECRETARY	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
STAND	3	6.4	5	11.9	4	7.1	--	--
ETAGERE	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	10.0
WHAT-NOT	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	10.0

fig. 15

found in 66.1% of the best bedrooms. It is during the third quarter that etageres and what-nots appear for the first time. In the least bedrooms the bureau was the most frequently mentioned item, found in 48.2% of the bedrooms (see fig. 15). Other items, such as workstand and chests were found in the least bedrooms, but not frequently.

In the best bedrooms of the fourth quarter the use of the wardrobe almost equaled that of the bureau (see fig. 14). The only other storage items recorded were the edger and the what-not. A greater variety of items were found in the least bedrooms of the fourth quarter (see fig. 15). The bureau was still the most popular piece. the trunk, which was not found in any of the best bedrooms of the second half of the century, was found in 20% of the least bedrooms in the fourth quarter. An edger and a what-not were each found in one least bedroom.

Sitting/Lounging Furniture

In the 47 best bedrooms in the first quarter, a total of 304 chairs were found (see fig. 16). Of the chairs specifically identified by material/type 35.9% were mahogany. There were a total of 122 chairs in the 47 least bedrooms and 14.8% of those described by material/type were windsor (see fig. 18). Other more elaborate types of sitting furniture were frequently found in the best bedrooms (see fig. 17). Easy chairs were found in 27.7% and sofas in 8.5% of the best bedrooms. Very few other types were found in the least bedrooms (see fig. 19).

BEST BEDROOMS

	FIRST QUARTER		SECOND QUARTER		THIRD QUARTER		FOURTH QUARTER	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
TOTAL NO. CHAIRS	304	100	246	100	271	100	40	100
MAHOGANY	109	14.8	18	7.3	23	8.5	--	--
PAINTED	16	--	15	6.1	5	1.9	--	--
WALNUT	5	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
WINDSOR	31	10.2	20	8.1	6	2.2	--	--
CANE BOTTOM	3	1.0	27	11.0	16	5.9	--	--
RUSH BOTTOM	18	5.9	61	24.8	25	9.2	--	--
FANCY	8	2.6	1	0.4	6	2.2	--	--
OAK	--	--	3	1.2	--	--	--	--
STRAW BOTTOM	--	--	--	--	8	3.0	--	--

fig. 16

BEST BEDROOMS

	FIRST QUARTER		SECOND QUARTER		THIRD QUARTER		FOURTH QUARTER	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
TOTAL NO. BEDRMS.	47	100	42	100	56	100	10	100
EASY CHAIRS	13	27.7	11	4.8	4	7.1	--	--
ARM CHAIRS	10	10.5	4	9.5	7	12.5	3	30
SOFA	4	8.5	6	14.3	7	12.5	--	--
ROCKING CHAIR	1	2.1	8	19.1	8	14.3	4	40
STOOL	4	8.5	4	7.1	6	10.7	--	--
COUCH	--	--	--	2.4	--	--	--	--
RECLINING CHAIR	--	--	1	2.4	3	5.4	--	--
LOUNGE	--	--	--	--	5	8.9	1	10
OTTOMAN	--	--	--	--	3	5.4	--	--
HASSOCK	--	--	--	--	2	3.6	--	--
SETTEE	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

fig. 17

LEAST BEDROOMS

	FIRST QUARTER		SECOND QUARTER		THIRD QUARTER		FOURTH QUARTER	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
TOTAL NO. CHAIRS	122	100	131	100	129	100	22	100
WINDSOR	18	14.8	11	8.4	4	3.1	--	--
MAHOGANY	--	--	23	17.6	--	--	--	--
STUFFED	--	--	6	4.6	--	--	--	--

fig. 18

LEAST BEDROOMS

	FIRST QUARTER		SECOND QUARTER		THIRD QUARTER		FOURTH QUARTER	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
TOTAL NO. BEDRMS.	47	100	42	100	56	100	10	100
EASY CHAIRS	--	--	2	4.8	1	1.8	--	--
ARM CHAIRS	5	10.5	1	2.4	1	1.8	--	--
SOFA	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
ROCKING CHAIR	--	--	--	--	3	5.4	1	10
STOOL	--	--	3	7.1	--	--	--	--
COUCH	--	--	1	2.4	--	--	--	--
RECLINING CHAIR	--	--	--	--	1	1.8	--	--
LOUNGE	--	--	1	2.4	--	--	1	10
OTTOMAN	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	10
HASSOCK	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
SETTEE	2	4.3	--	--	--	--	--	--

fig. 19

There were a total of 256 chairs in the best bedrooms of the second quarter (see fig. 16). The most frequently identified type of chair was one with a rush bottom. Those with came bottoms were frequently mentioned also. Sofas were found in 14.5% of the bedrooms and rocking chairs in 19.15 (see fig. 17). A greater variety of siting/lounging furniture was found in the best bedrooms with stools being the most frequently mentioned type. There were 131 chairs in the least bedrooms (see fig. 18). Mahogany chairs were the most frequently mentioned type in the least bedrooms. In the first quarter mahogany chairs were the most frequently mentioned type in the best bedrooms, suggesting that by this time they may have been considered old fashioned.

There were 271 chairs found in the best bedrooms of the third quarter (see fig. 16). Rush bottomed chairs were in the slight majority, accounting for 9.2% of the chairs identified by material/type. Rocking chairs, sofas, and arm chairs were frequently found in the best bedrooms of this quarter (see fig. 17). Hassocks, ottomans , and lounges appeared for the first time in the inventories of the third quarter. The number of chairs in the least bedrooms was less than half the number found in the best bedrooms (see fig. 18). Rocking chairs were found in three of the least bedrooms (see fig. 19).

Although there are only 40 chairs recorded in the best bedrooms of the fourth quarter, the actual chair to room

ratio dropped only slightly from the third quarter, from 4.8 to 1 to 4 to 1 (see fig. 16). Rocking chairs , more popular than in previous quarters, were found in 40% of the best bedrooms (see fig. 17). One lounge was recorded. The chairs per room ratio remained almost the same in the third and fourth quarters in the least bedrooms (see fig. 18). No specific descriptive terms were used for the chairs in the least bedrooms.

Tables

Tables were divided into two types: tables associated with dressing and tables in general. Tables associated with dressing were found in 19.3% of the best bedrooms (see fig. 20). Such tables were called either dressing tables of toilet tables. Almost 60% of the best bedrooms contained other types of tables. Of the 28 tables recorded, 14.3% were breakfast tables. Other table types included: tea, dining, and work tables. These different types of tables indicate the bedroom may have functioned as more than just a room in which to sleep. The least bedrooms didn't contain as many tables as the best bedrooms (see fig. 21). While 31.9% of the bedrooms had tables, very few were further identified. Dressing/toilet tables were found in 12.8% of the least bedrooms.

A variety of tables were found in the best bedrooms of the second quarter (see fig. 20). Dressing/toilet tables were found in 21.4% of the best bedrooms. Tables in general

BEST BEDROOMS

	FIRST QUARTER		SECOND QUARTER		THIRD QUARTER		FOURTH QUARTER	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
TOTAL NO. BEDRMS.	47	100.0	42	100.0	56	100.0	10	100.0
DRESSING TABLE	5	10.6	6	14.3	3	5.4	--	--
TOILET TABLE	4	8.5	3	7.1	--	--	--	--
TABLE	28	59.6	36	85.7	36	64.3	8	80.0
CARD	--	--	7	19.4	2	5.6	--	--
COMMODE	1	3.6	1	2.8	--	--	--	--
DINING	1	3.6	2	5.6	--	--	--	--
WORK	1	3.6	1	2.8	1	2.8	--	--
BREAKFAST	4	14.3	1	2.8	--	--	--	--
TEA	1	3.6	1	2.8	--	--	--	--
ROUND	1	3.6	2	5.6	--	--	1	12.5
NIGHT	1	3.6	2	5.6	--	--	--	--
BACKGAMMON	--	--	1	2.8	--	--	--	--
PIER	--	--	2	5.6	1	2.8	--	--
SIDE	--	--	1	2.8	2	5.6	--	--
SQUARE	--	--	1	2.8	--	--	1	12.5
CHAMBER	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
CENTRE	--	--	--	--	8	22.2	1	12.5
MARBLE TOP	--	--	--	--	4	11.1	1	12.5

fig. 20

LEAST BEDROOMS

	FIRST QUARTER		SECOND QUARTER		THIRD QUARTER		FOURTH QUARTER	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
TOTAL NO. BEDRMS.	47	100.0	42	100.0	56	100.0	10	100.0
DRESSING TABLE	4	8.5	1	2.4	1	1.8	--	--
TOILET TABLE	2	4.3	--	--	--	--	--	--
TABLE	15	31.9	15	35.7	17	30.3	40	40.0
CARD	11	6.7	--	--	2	11.8	--	--
COMMODE	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
DINING	--	--	1	6.7	--	--	--	--
WORK	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
BREAKFAST	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
TEA	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
ROUND	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
NIGHT	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
BACKGAMMON	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
PIER	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
SIDE	--	--	1	6.7	--	--	--	--
SQUARE	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
CHAMBER	--	--	1	6.7	--	--	--	--
CENTRE	--	--	--	--	1	5.9	--	--
MARBLE TOP	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

fig. 21

were mentioned in 85.&% of the bedrooms. Card tables were the most frequently identified type. Tables were found in 35.7% of the least bedrooms (see fig. 21).

There were not as great a variety of tables found in the third quarter as in the previous two quarters (see fig. 20). The use of dressing/toilet tables declined. Tables were found in 64.3% of the best bedrooms, the most frequently recorded types were the centre table and the marble top table. Only 30.35 of the least bedrooms had tables (see fig. 21). Of those possessing a descriptive term, 11.8% were card tables and 5.9% were centre tables.

In the best bedrooms of the fourth quarter, tables were found in 80% (see fig. 20). The types found were centre, marble top, square, and round. Tables were found in 40% of the least bedrooms (see fig. 21).

Overall, the bureau was one of the most frequently mentioned and enduring pieces found in both the best and least bedrooms. As the "chest of drawers" it appeared in the first quarter, but this old fashioned terms was quickly dropped. The wardrobe was found in only 25.5% of the best bedrooms in the first quarter. This figure steadily increased to 70% by the last quarter. Wardrobes, however, were not found as frequently in the least bedrooms where the bureau was the most popular piece. The chest and trunk were common storage items in the beginning of the century, but their use declined thereafter.

In the best bedrooms, in the first quarter of the century, the mean number of chairs was 6.5 (see fig. 22). The mean decreased to 4.0 in the last quarter. There is an obvious decrease in the number of chairs in the bedroom from the first quarter to the end of the century. This trend could be due to the changing function of the bedroom. The presence of more chairs in the beginning of the century could indicate that the bedroom was functioning in a more public capacity, people may have been entertained in the bedroom. The decreasing number of chairs may indicate that entertaining no longer took place in the bedroom, it was now a private space.

BEST BEDROOMS

	FIRST QUARTER	SECOND QUARTER	THIRD QUARTER	FOURTH QUARTER
MEAN	6.5	5.9	4.8	4.0
HIGH	17.0	14.0	12.0	8.0
MEDIAN	8.5	7.0	6.0	4.0
LOW	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

fig. 22

LEAST BEDROOMS

	FIRST QUARTER	SECOND QUARTER	THIRD QUARTER	FOURTH QUARTER
MEAN	2.6	3.1	2.4	2.2
HIGH	12	13.0	8.0	6.0
MEDIAN	6.0	6.5	4.0	3.0
LOW	0	0	0	0

fig. 23

The mean in the least bedrooms does not vary greatly over the course of the century (see fig. 23). There is still a decrease in the number of chairs in the second half of the century. The least bedrooms most likely belonged to children or servants, neither of whom would be expected to entertain very much. There rooms would have been furnished in a utilitarian manner, most likely with just enough chairs for the occupants.

Other pieces of furniture used for sitting were also found in the bedroom. The easy chair, which Miss Leslie considered necessary for the bedroom, was found in 27.7% of the best bedrooms in the first quarter, but disappeared by the end of the century. Easy chairs were found in only three of the least bedrooms.

As some types of seating objects disappeared, others appeared. The number of rocking chairs increased after the first quarter, as did the number of sofas, and other types of furniture, such as the ottoman, begin to appear. Very few of these types of seating furniture appeared in the least bedrooms.

The percentage of tables was higher in the best bedrooms than the least and remained fairly consistent throughout the century. Some tables were described by shape or material, while some bore a describer that implied a more specific function (e.g. tea table, card table). The greatest variety was found in the tables of the second quarter. The variety of tables, such as breakfast tables

and card tables, indicate that the bedroom may have been used for purposes other than sleeping.

Accessories

In addition to furniture, items of a more decorative, less functional nature were also found in the bedroom. The prescriptive literature devoted little space to accessories. Webster and Parkes offered a few suggestions on accessories in The American Family Encyclopedia of Useful Knowledge (1859).

> As these [ornamental vases] are very frequently employed to decorate apartments, it is proper some attention should be paid to the style of those which are selected for this purpose, since this is frequently thought to afford some indication of the possessors taste.[49]

They also noted that engravings, though little used at the time of publication of the encyclopedia, were popular in previous decades.

Eastlake, in Hints in Household Taste (1868) suggested pictures adding that "to see pictures with anything like comfort or attention, they should be disposed in one row only, and that opposite the eye, or on an average about 5 feet 6 inches from the floor to the center of the picture."[50]

In How to Furnish a Home (1881) Ella Rodman Church recommended both china and pictures in a bedroom. She wrote:

> Two or three brackets holding pieces of china and cut flowers would add to the charm of the room. Nowhere is pretty china more in harmony, in the way of ornament, than in the bedroom. A bowl-shaped vase of purest porcelain with a bordering or roses rest on a corner bracket in a city room that we know of, and makes an atmosphere of beauty all around it ... China twisted into such outlandish forms as dolphins, frogs, porcupines, or small pink dogs is not to be tolerated.[51]

She added that a few photographs, engravings or paintings would be a pleasant feature in a bedroom:

> It would not be amiss, however, to put two or three pictures on the walls, if only framed woodcuts, for, like the same adornment in the kitchen, such thoughtful touches make a servant feel that she had been considered beyond the mere necessities of life.[52]

One type of accessory found in the bedrooms analyzed was the looking glass or mirror. According to The Oxford English Dictionary, the earliest use of the term "looking glass" was in 1562. It is defined as "a glass to look in to see ones own face." Mirror is defined as" a polished surface which reflects images of objects." The earliest use of this term was c.1225. Another term used to denote this same object was "glass." It is defined as "a glass mirror, a looking-glass" and was first used in the thirteenth century. Based on these definitions, the term "mirror" denotes a surface which reflects, it does not have to be glass. The term "glass" is slightly more specific, meaning a mirror made of glass. "Looking glass" is even more

specific, meaning a glass one looks in to see one's own face.

In the inventories of the first quarter, 78.7% of the best bedrooms contained a looking glass, as did 46.8% of the least bedrooms (see figs. 24 and 25). The percentage of bedrooms with a looking glass decreased as the century progressed. In the fourth quarter no best bedrooms possessed one and only one least bedroom had one. The looking glass was, however, the most popular type of mirror throughout the century, in the best and least bedrooms.

It was in the second quarter inventories of the best bedrooms that the greatest variety of mirrors was found. Most of the terms denote the type of mirror which assisted in the process of dressing, while mantel glass, pier glass, and pier looking glass all describe mirrors of a more decorative nature. Only eight best bedrooms and one least bedroom in the first half of the century mention any of these kinds of mirrors.

Other types of accessories were found in the bedrooms (see figs. 26 & 27). Clocks were found in 2.1% of the best bedrooms in the fist quarter, increasing to 20.0% by the fourth quarter. Clocks were found less frequently in the least bedrooms.

Mantle ornaments and vases were found in many of the best bedrooms, and a few of the least, throughout the century. In the first quarter 6.4% of the best bedrooms

BEST BEDROOMS

	FIRST QUARTER		SECOND QUARTER		THIRD QUARTER		FOURTH QUARTER	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
TOTAL NO. BEDRMS.	47	100	42	100	56	100	10	100
LOOKING GLASS	37	78.7	18	42.9	14	25	--	--
DRESSING GLASS	6	12.8	9	21.4	--	--	--	--
GLASS	--	--	5	11.9	--	--	--	--
TOILET GLASS	3	6.4	4	9.5	2	3.6	--	--
CHEVAL GLASS	--	--	--	--	3	5.4	1	10
MIRROR	2	4.3	1	2.4	6	10.7	--	--
MANTEL GLASS	--	--	3	7.1	2	3.6	--	--
PIER GLASS	3	6.4	1	2.4	--	--	--	--
PIER LOOKING GLASS	--	--	1	2.4	--	--	--	--

fig. 24

LEAST BEDROOMS

	FIRST QUARTER		SECOND QUARTER		THIRD QUARTER		FOURTH QUARTER	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
TOTAL NO. BEDRMS.	47	100	42	100	56	100	10	100
LOOKING GLASS	22	46.8	11	26.2	10	17.9	--	--
DRESSING GLASS	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
GLASS	1	2.1	5	11.9	9	16.1	1	10
TOILET GLASS	3	6.4	1	2.4	1	1.8	--	--
CHEVAL GLASS	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
MIRROR	--	--	--	--	2	3.6	--	--
MANTEL GLASS	--	--	1	2.4	--	--	--	--
PIER GLASS	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
PIER LOOKING GLASS	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

fig. 25

BEST BEDROOMS

	FIRST QUARTER		SECOND QUARTER		THIRD QUARTER		FOURTH QUARTER	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
TOTAL NO. BEDRMS.	47	100	42	100	56	100	10	100
CLOCK	1	2.1	3	7.1	8	14.3	2	20
PAINTINGS, ETC.	16	34	16	38.1	20	35.7	3	30
MANTLE JARS	3	6.4	--	--	--	--	--	--
MANTLE ORNAMENTS	--	--	7	9.5	13	23.2	--	--
VASES	3	6.4	6	14.3	3	5.4	2	30

fig. 26

LEAST BEDROOMS

	FIRST QUARTER		SECOND QUARTER		THIRD QUARTER		FOURTH QUARTER	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
TOTAL NO. BEDRMS.	47	100	42	100	56	100	10	100
CLOCK	--	--	1	2.4	3	5.4	--	--
PAINTINGS, ETC.	4	8.5	5	11.9	5	8.9	2	20
MANTLE JARS	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
MANTLE ORNAMENTS	--	--	7	9.5	13	23.2	1	10
VASES	--	--	--	--	1	1.8	--	--

fig. 27

listed mantle jars. No other inventories later in the century listed these objects.

Pictures, paintings, photographs, and engravings were also found in the inventories. In the best bedrooms in the first quarter, 34% listed some type of "wall-furniture" of an artistic nature, to borrow a term from Charles Locke Eastlake. The number of best bedrooms with pictures, painting, photographs and the like remained fairly consistent throughout the century.

ENDNOTES

1. The bedstead could have been willed to someone and thus removed from the room before the inventory was taken.

2. John Claudius Loudon, An Encyclopedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture and Furniture (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1833), 334

3. A lady, The Workwoman's Guide (London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co., 1838), 191.

4. Thomas Webster and Mrs. Parkes, The American Family Encyclopedia of Useful Knowledge (New York: Derby & Jackson, 1859), 290.

5. Webster and Parkes, 295.

6. Andrew Jackson Downing, The Architecture of Country Houses, 1850 (reprint, New York: Dover Publications, 1969), 431.

7. Downing, 431.

8. Andrew Jackson Downing, The Architecture of Country Houses, 1850 (reprint, New York: Dover Publications, 1969), 418.

9. Charles Locke Eastlake, Hints on Household Taste in Furniture, Upholstery & Other Details (London, 1868), 207.

10. Lydia Marie Child, The Frugal Housewife (1829), 19.

11. Webster and Parkes, 296.

12. Webster and Parkes, 296.

13. Webster and Parkes, 297.

14. Ella Rodman Church, How to Furnish a Home (New York: P. Appleton & Co., 1881), 83.

15. Lady Barker Broome, The Bedroom and the Boudoir (London: Macmillan, 1878), 40.

16. Elisabeth Donaghy Garrett, At Home: The American Family 1750-1870 (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1990), 111.

17. Bed linen (e.g. sheets, blankets) was not included in the analysis. Sometimes the bed linen was recorded with the bedrooms furnishings, but not always. In some instances all the household linen was recorded in one place and given one value. Since there was no consistency these items were excluded.

18. Garrett, 114.

19. The Workwoman's Guide, 192.

20. Webster and Parkes, 291.

21. Eliza Leslie, The Lady's Housebook (19th ed.) (Philadelphia: 1840), 303.

22. H.J. Cooper, The Art of Furnishing (1879), 103.

23. The Workwoman's Guide, 203.

24. The Workwoman's Guide, 203.

25. Webster and Mrs. Parkes, 250.

26. Webster and Parkes, 249.

27. Edgar Martin, The Standard of Living in 1860, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1942), 101.

28. Helen Von Rosenstiel and Gail Caskey Winkler, Floor Coverings for Historic Buildings (Washington, D.C.: Preservation Press, 1988), 74.

29. Downing, 371.

30. Martin, 101.

31. H.J. Cooper, The Art of Furnishing (London: C. Kegan Paul & Co., 1879), 103.

32. Church, 82.

33. Stuart Blumin, "The Hypothesis of Middle-Class Formation in Nineteenth-Century America: A Critique and Some Proposals" American Historical Review 90 (April 1985), 314.

34. Martin, 97.

35. John Claudius Loudon, An Encyclopedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture and Furniture (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1833), 322

36. Loudon, 311.

37. Loudon, 305.

38. Leslie, 300.

39. Leslie, 296.

40. Church, 86.

41. Gail Caskey Winkler, Influence of Godey's Lady's Book on the American Woman and Her Home: Contributions to a National Attitude (1830-1877) (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1988),342.

42. Eastlake, 211.

43. Eastlake, 303.

44. Eastlake, 212.

45. Church, 89.

46. Church, 89.

47. Church, 90.

48. Church, 88

49. Webster and Mrs. Parkes, 283.

50. Eastlake, 183.

51. Eastlake, 186.

52. Church, 92.

53. Church, 98.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

Prescriptive versus Descriptive Literature

The purpose of this study was to analyze prescriptive and descriptive literature in order to develop a more accurate picture of the nineteenth-century interior. A comparison of the two types of literature yielded few direct contradictions, but where differences did occur, the data from the inventory analysis made the sentiments expressed in the books clearer. While reading only the prescriptive literature, it was hard to determine if the authors were voicing popular opinion or if they were reacting against a popular trend. The information from the inventories made determinations possible. In the areas where technology was involved (heating/ventilation, plumbing/hygiene, and lighting) the results of the inventory analysis suggested that the critics were reacting against popular trends.

Differences of opinion also existed between the authors of the various prescriptive books. The use of the monetary values of the inventories and the accordant household goods as a measuring stick, made possible the classification of the prescriptive literature. It was then possible to see that acceptance of new technology in the nineteenth century was dependent upon class and that the views of the author were expressed in his writing.

Best versus Least Bedrooms

There was disparity between the monetary values of the best and least bedrooms. The value of each bedroom was calculated as a percent of the total value of the household goods and the results are shown in the table below.

	MEAN	HIGH	LOW
FIRST QUARTER	17.0%	35.2%	22.5%
SECOND QUARTER	12.6%	28.9%	4.6%
THIRD QUARTER	12.6%	27.5%	3.6%
FOURTH QUARTER	17.0%	28.9%	4.0%

fig. 28

BEST BEDROOMS

	MEAN	HIGH	LOW
FIRST QUARTER	3.8%	23.1%	.33%
SECOND QUARTER	2.7%	13.8%	.17%
THIRD QUARTER	3.4%	14.2%	.19%
FOURTH QUARTER	3.9%	13.3%	.40%

fig. 29

LEAST BEDROOMS

The best bedrooms were on average worth at least three times as much as the least bedrooms. Even the "low" values of the best bedrooms were at least four times as much as the "low" values of the least bedrooms. These figures show how great a gulf existed between the furnishings of the best and least bedrooms.

Opportunities for Further Research

This analysis of prescriptive and descriptive literature could be the starting point for further research. An analysis of rural inventories would make possible a comparison of urban and rural practices and would reveal more about the nineteenth-century interior. A study of the urban inventories of another large city in a different area of the United States could confirm that the furnishing patterns noted in Philadelphia bedrooms did occur elsewhere. A study of nineteenth-century furniture advertisements used in the Philadelphia area would yield information on the exact types of furniture available in the area.

STUDENT INVENTORIES

Abbot, James G.	1869:593
Arnous, Nicholas	1819:16
Arrison, Maria	1865:500
Baker, George S.	1882:503
Ballard, Leben	1823:115
Barrett, Robert	1847:125
Bedford, Gunning	1802:31
Bell, Thomas	1805:104
Bordley, John Beale	1804:8
Bowen, William E.	1866:224
Brown, John	1825:78
Brown, Thomas	1836:200
Byle, Sarah	1867:500
Caldwell, Charles P.	1871:104
Camac, William Master	1842:91
Camm, William	1860:342
Campbell, Alexander	1868:206
Campbell, James R.	1867:457
Campbell, William	1861:313
Cannell, Simon	1874:141
Carpenter, Lewis D.	1824:124
Chambers, Martha	1860:105
Clapier, Lewis	1837:108
Clay, Curtis	1809:85
Connelly, John	1827:18
Cooper, John	1852:339
Coulter, Ann	1869:522
Crowley, John	1827:137
Dale, Mary Willing	1860:177
de lu Cuesta, Josefa	1840:81
Deringer, Henry	1868:128
Donaldson, Jacob P.	1855:185
Drayton, Henry E.	1862:168
Drayton, William	1846:120
Drinker, Henry	1809:67
du Plessis, Peter	1815:133
Dutilh, Stephen	1810:17
Edwards, Enoch	1802:60
Elton, Anthony	1885:10
Errickson, Michael	1868:192
Etting, Edward J.	1862:468
Evans, Thomas	1841:37
Farnum, Henry	1855:404
Francis, Dorothy	1847:165
Gaul, William	1868:263
Geisinger, David	1860:120
Gilpin, Eliza Sibley	1874:124
Gilpin, Henry G.	1860:60
Grandom, John	1825:123
Griffiths, Elizabeth	1812:85

Groves, Daniel	1847:3
Hall, Martha	1811:80
Hall, Maurice	1865:554
Hamilton, James	1826:173
Hammett, Barnabas	1873:90
Hamon, william	1816:126
Hare, Sarah Emlen	1860:119
Harper, John M.	1868:255
Harris, Elisabeth	1802:65
Helverson, Nicholas	1858:152
Heyl, John Jr.	1848:114
Hirst, Lucas	1882:612
Holahan, Amos	1850:
Holland, Nathaniel	1836:73
Horn, Joseph	1867:451
Hunter, William Jr.	1867:654
Hutchinson, I. Pemberton	1866:266
Hutchinson, Mahlon	1862:115
Jackson, David	1808:79
Jers, Ruth	1858:22
Jewell, Wilson	1867:486
Kean, Sarah	1823:106
Keen, Jane Garrett	1827:84
Kitchen, James	1828:97
Lake, John	1823:111
Lardner, John	1825:40
Laws, George	1850:147
Lee, Julius	1875:42
Loveringm Joseph S.	1881:499
Lyon, Patrick	1829:56
MacDougal, John	1811:44
Maybin, John	1829:93
Mayland, Jacob	1849:233
McCall, Margaret	1824:38
McCrea, Mary	1866:47
McCulloh, John	1800:
McDonough, Abraham	1852:341
Mceuen, Thomas	1822:178
McFee, Mary	1822:112
McKean, Thomas	1817:90
McIlvaine, Joseph	1838:15
Megargee, Sylvester J.	1881:287
Monges, Aristides	1839:117
Montgomery, John P.	1875:112
Montgomery, Robert	1809:104
Morton, Esther	1856:98
Muller, Charles	1820:32
Nippes, John C.	1867:543
Nixon, Henry	1840:155
Nixon, Maria	1852:304
Pabst, Englehard	1865:604
Palmer, Richard	1850:129
Peterson, Lawrence	1862:150
Pilling, Samuel	1851:215

Powel, Elizabeth	1830:14
Price, Thomas C.	1833:177
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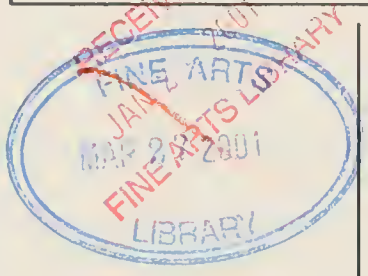

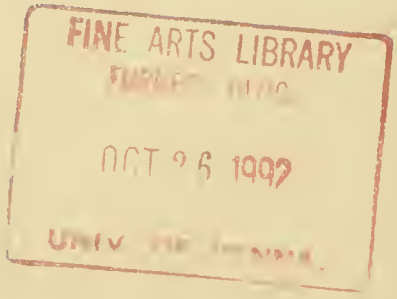

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